

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-12 AID-05 EB-08 IO-13
/115 W

-----095748 131922Z /72

R 131130Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BISSAU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1147
INFO USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRAIA POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BISSAU 0550

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PU, CV, GE, GW
SUBJECT: A TALE OF FOUR CITIES; OR FIVE IF BERLIN COUNTS AS TWO

1. GUINEA-BISSAU HAS RECENTLY GOTTEN ITSELF MIXED UP IN THE BERLIN QUESTION. LAST MONTH, GOGB DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION INACIO SEMEDO WENT TO BONN AND SIGNED A GENERAL BILATERAL AID TREATY INTENDED TO SERVE AS AN UMBRELLA AGREEMENT FOR NUMEROUS SPECIFIC AID PROJECTS (TOTALLING FIFTEEN MILLION MARKS) ALREADY SIGNED, IN PROCESS, OR BEING PLANNED. SHORTLY AFTER SEMEDO RETURNED TO BISSAU, GUINEA-BISSAU PRESIDENT LUIS CABRAL INFORMED THE FRG AMBASSADOR (RESIDENT IN DAKAR) THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS NOT VALID AS SEMEDO DID NOT HAVE AUTHORITY TO SIGN IT AND THAT THE STANDARD BERLIN CLAUSE IN THE AGREEMENT WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOGB. (THIS EVENT WAS ERRONEOUSLY REPORTED IN BISSAU A-15 AS HAVING OCCURRED IN CAPE VERDE.)

2. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GOGB'S CANCELLATION OF THE
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AGREEMENT WAS THE RESULT OF AN INTERVENTION BY THE EAST GERMAN AMBASSADOR WHO ARGUED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THE BERLIN CLAUSE MEANT THAT THE GOGB WAS TAKING SIDES IN THE COLD WAR ISSUE.

3. SINCE THE DECISION WAS MADE, SEMEDO (WHO PRIVATELY CLAIMS HE DID HAVE WRITTEN AUTHORITY TO SIGN)

HAS BEEN BUSILY TRYING TO REVERSE THE DECISION BY MEANS OF A COMPROMISE. FRG EMBASSY FIRST SECRETARY ZEPTE ARRIVED IN BISSAU ON MAY 3 FOR THE SAME PURPOSE, AND CLAIMS TO HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESS. HE HAS POINTED OUT THAT THE BERLIN CLAUSE MERELY STATES THE FRG'S RESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT ON BERLIN (EMPHASIZING WHO ONE OF THE FOUR POWERS WAS), THAT IT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY 120 NATIONS (INCLUDING CAPE VERDE), AND OFFERING TO ARRANGE FOR DIFFERENT LANGUAGE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOGB. ZEPTE HAS RECEIVED WHAT HE CONSIDERS REASONABLE ASSURANCES FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MINFORAFF AND COMMISSIONER (MINISTER) OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT THAT SUCH A COMPROMISE IS LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE.

4. AN INDICATION THAT ZEPTE'S CONFIDENCE IS NOT MISPLACED WAS GIVEN BY GUINEA-BISSAU PRESIDENT CABRAL IN HIS "STATE OF THE NATION" REPORT TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON MAY 8. IN A SPEECH NOTICEABLY COMPLIMENTARY TO THE USG AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, CABRAL REFERRED CONSPICUOUSLY TO FRG ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

5. HOWEVER, WHILE ARRANGING THIS SIDE OF THE ISSUE, ZEPTE SAYS HE AND HIS AMBASSADOR ARE STILL UNDER PRESSURE FROM BONN WHERE A STRONG REACTION TO THE GOGB
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ACTION COULD RESULT IN AN IMMEDIATE CUT OFF OF AID. A NEEDED FRG GIFT OF RICE IS DUE TO ARRIVE IN BISSAU NEXT WEEK WHICH BONN IS CONSIDERING HALTING IN DAKAR. ZEPTE IS CONCERNED THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD BE VIEWED, NOT UNREASONABLY, BY THE GOGB AS A PRESSURE TACTIC WHICH COULD RESULT IN A FURTHER HARDENING OF THEIR ATTITUDE. HIS TRUMP CARD (HOPES) IS THE VISIT MAY 10 TO DAKAR OF WILLY BRANDT AND WYZHNEWSKI, A SENIOR AIDE TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. ZEPTE ONCE SERVED AS WYZHNEWSKI'S PRIVATE SECRETARY AND HE IS CONFIDENT THAT WYZHNEWSKI WILL SEE THE LOGIC OF THE PROMISED COMPROMISE AND WILL ENSURE THAT BONN BACKS IT, MEANWHILE ALLOWING THE RICE SHIPMENT TO GO FORWARD. IN ADDITION, ZEPTE HOPES TO CONVINCE WYZHNEWSKI TO FLY TO BISSAU TO RESIGN THE UMBRELLA AID PACKAGE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BISSAU 0550

6. ANOTHER ELEMENT OF THIS IMBROGLIO IS THE QUESTION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOGB, THE GOCV AND THE TWO GERMAN GOVERNMENTS. BOTH THE GOGB AND GOCV HAVE RECOGNIZED BOTH GERMANIES. THE GDR HAS A RESIDENT EMBASSY IN BISSAU, ACCREDITED TO CAPE VERDE, AND AN ACTIVE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN BOTH COUNTRIES. THE FRG IS REPRESENTED BY ITS AMBASSADOR IN DAKAR, AND HAS INITIATED ACTIVE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. TO COMPLICATE MATTERS, THE GDR HAS BEEN DENIED PERMISSION TO OPEN A RESIDENT MISSION IN CAPE VERDE ON THE GROUNDS THAT "YOU CAN SERVE US EQUALLY WELL FROM BISSAU", WHILE THE GOCV HAS FORMALLY REQUESTED THE FRG TO ESTABLISH AN EMBASSY IN PRAIA. BONN, HOWEVER, HAS STEADFASTLY REFUSED TO DO SO EITHER IN BISSAU OF PRAIA ON THE GROUNDS THAT "IF THE JAPANESE AND BRITISH DON'T, WHY SHOULD WE". BONN'S POSITION SEEMS SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORY GIVEN THE WILLINGNESS TO AUTHORIZE SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
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FOR WHAT APPEARS TO BE POLITICAL REASONS. THE FRG EMBASSY IN DAKAR WILL LOBBY FOR A DECISION TO OPEN RESIDENT MISSIONS WITH WYZHNEWSKI DURING BRANDT'S VISIT TO DAKAR.

7. COMMENT: THIS LITTLE TALE PERFECTLY ILLUSTRATES THE TONE OF GOGB INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE GOVERNMENT'S LONG-STANDING RELATIONS WITH EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES ARE MODIFIED AND COMPLICATED BY NEW RELATIONSHIPS WITH MORE GENEROUS WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS. THE READY ACCEPTANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CAPE VERDE LAST OCTOBER OF AN IDENTICAL UMBRELLA AID AGREEMENT WITH AN IDENTICAL BERLIN CLAUSE UNVEILS THE SOMETIMES CONFLICTING ATTITUDES AND TENDENCIES WITHIN THE GOGB, THE GOCV, AND THEIR SINGLE-RULING PARTY. THE MORAL FOR OUTSIDE OBSERVERS IS TO BE CAUTIOUS OF OVER-INTERPRETING SPECIFIC GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD AS BEING CLEARLY INDICATIVE OF A SECULAR TREND.

8. IN ANY CASE, WESTERN INFLUENCES ARE PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE HERE, AND FRG ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS SIGNIFICANT. PERHAPS BONN SHOULD BE URGED TO PUT ITS MOUTH WHERE ITS MONEY IS.
MARKS

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